1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7



325 established in Oaxaca in Mixtec times. The Oaxacan ornaments, although deficient in some of the southern technical developments, surpass in design and workmanship the best of the older goldwork of Peru and Ecuador.[18]

Metallurgy seems to have arrived late in Mexico, certainly not before the eleventh century. Mentions of copper in Toltec times refer more probably to the Dynastic Period than to that of Teotihuacan. I know of neither copper nor gold which comes from the early or middle periods of the great Middle American civilizations, although some hollow clay bells from the late Toltec occupation of Azcapotzalco tantalizingly suggest metal prototypes. Toward the close of the Independent Civilization phase, and more especially during the domination of Mixteca-Puebla culture, there are consistant occurrences of metal objects.

316 Mining methods were rudimentary. Gold was collected in nugget form or panned as dust; copper also was mined as nodules or nuggets; silver, which seldom occurs pure in nature, was for this reason rarely converted into ornaments. The melting furnaces were heated with charcoal and their draft forced by a man blowing on the embers through a tube. The casting we have already described. This work in gold, one of the great wonders of the Conquest, was achieved by the same simple methods of all Aztec handiwork and was another triumph of sheer skill, unassisted by technical aids.

323 Pottery making was the greatest New World craft, and probably no other continent has such a complex range of form and design. The malleability of clay made it easy to work, and firing was simple, so that pottery products were an important part of Indian craftsmanship. In the Valley of Mexico we have no trace of people before the introduction

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632
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half the honey formerly paid by the province, according to the *Matricula*). Besides this, two special milpas were cultivated and their
[314]
yield was sent to the near-by mines of Ayoteco."

" *PNE*, 1: No. 437: "Dan de tributo cada ochenta dias quinientos y veinte y ocho pesos y dos tomines de tipuzque, y catorce xiquipiles de cacao y seis mill y dozientos y ochenta cacaos, y esto dan al dicho su amo en dineros que son quatroçientos y çinquenta pesos, y ocho ziquipiles de cacao y sesenta xarrillos de miel, y cada año le hazen dos sementeras de maiz y se lo ponen en las minas de Ayoteco." On *tipuzque*, see Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (1883), II: 7, and Boban, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire du Mexique* (1890), II: 416 and 450.

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635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—North of Yoaltepec Province lay the Empire province of Tepeacac, and to the east that of Tlachquiauco, but to the south were other Mixtec peoples never subjugated by the Triple Alliance: Tototepec of Oaxaca and her allies. Ayoxochiquilazala was an outpost against these. To the west Tlapan and Quiauhteopan were Empire territory again.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute rendered by Yoaltepec was small but choice; it included gold and turquoises. It is listed as follows:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

[263] 40 jars of honey**

OTHER TRIBUTE

[316 533] 40 little gold disks, "the size of a Host" and as thick as one's finger*[41]
10 middle-sized turquoise masks (mosaic)*[42]

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acatlan gave military supplies and food to the Imperial armies which passed through it and from time to time sent gifts of mantles and rabbitskins to its overlord in Mexico, as well as providing personal services. Certain gifts were received in return.[43]

[712] Ayoxochiquilazala, though a garrison town giving military service, also paid tribute of gold dust.[44]

[41] Cooper Clark, in his edition of the *Códice Mendocino* (1: 75), remarks that "it is reasonable to suppose that these gold disks . . . measured about three inches in diameter."

[42] The *Mendocino* commentary considers the turquoise symbol appearing with the masks to represent a separate tribute of turquoises, but this conclusion does not seem justified.

[43] As in Ocelotepec, in the province of Coyolapan, *q.v.*, *PNE*, 5: 59, says that Acatlan "solamente ... daua ... a la jente de guerra que por el pasaba" food and arms from an arsenal there, and " ... enbiauan de quando en quando vn presente al Rey de Mexico, de mantas y pellejos de liebres y de conejos." In the same source are mentioned the services rendered by various lords and their wives in the Imperial court, in eighty-day shifts.

[44] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 147–148: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma y le davan oro en polvo y no le acudian con otra cosa porque en este dicho pueblo tenia monteçuma jente de guarniçion aperçébida para las guerras y esta gente mexicana comian y gastavan las gallinas venados conejos y maiz que eran obligados á dar á monteçuma."

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as the "Nómina de Tributos de Tlapa y su senorio al Imperio Mexicano" give us unparalleled material for a future study in detail of the tribute of this province. We now have the bookkeeping from both sides, that of the conquerors and that of the conquered. Until the codices are fully published, however, we can only remark the abundant tribute of gold, confirmed by the *Matricula* and reconfirmed by the excavations of Atliztac, which may have been included in the province.[*]

The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* specify:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of mantles and women's blouses[**]
402 bundles[*] of little red-striped mantles[**]
800 bundles of large mantles[**]
2 warriors' costumes with shields[*]

OTHER TRIBUTE

10 strips of gold "de quatro de dos en ancho y de largo tres quartos de vara," and the thickness of parchment
20 bowls of gold dust, each bowl of 2 *almoçadas* capacity
800 bowls called tecomates, "the good kind they drink cocoa from"

*Tribute of the component towns.*—We have testimony regarding the tribute of one town, Ayutla, in both the pre-Hispanic and the early colonial periods. On certain other towns, only information about the latter period is available.

Ayutla and near-by towns joined in giving Moctezuma the following every six moons: a bar of heavy gold, three fingers thick; gourds; deer and tiger skins; fish and cotton.[*] In the mid-sixteenth century it gave 40 measures of gold dust and various items of clothing quarterly, as well as a turkey daily and the services of three Indians in a cacao grove.[*]

[*] Noguera, "Importancia arqueológica del descubrimiento de objetos en Texmelincan, Guerrero," *Boletín del Museo Nacional* (1933), Epoca II, 2: 42–44.

[**] Corrected from the figure of the *Mendocino* commentary, 400.

[*] *PNE*, 4: 260: "era de Motecuçuma ... le davan vna vara de oro maçisco de gordor de tres dedos, y 'tecomates' que son como calabaças, y cueros de venado y pescado y algodon y cueros de tiguere, y que todos los dichos pueblos ... le davan este tributo antiguamente cada seys lunas."

[*] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias quartenta pesos de oro en poluo y dos mantas de dos braças cada vna, damascadas, y dos cotines grandes y ocho mantillas y quatro camisas y quatro naguas y cada dia vna gallina de la tierra y mas tres yndios de seruicio en vna huerta de cacao y todos juntos quando es menester la benefician."

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Tlapan in the mid-sixteenth century gave 62 pesos, 3 tomines of gold quarterly, 3 loads of honey, 5 pots, and 3 loads of wax in pellets.[71] Tototepec, likewise about a generation after the Conquest, gave 50 measures of gold dust and certain articles of clothing quarterly, and daily gave the services of seven Indians, and a chicken to the Calpixque.[72]

## 34. Tlachquiauco

### SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlachquiauco was not large. It contained three principal towns, according to folio 45ᵛ of the *Mendocino Codex*, the folio copied from the recto side of a lost leaf (page "22A") which followed Coyolapan and preceded Xoconochco in the original manuscript. Of the three towns of Tlachquiauco Province, one has not been located, but the other two (lying in northwestern Oaxaca) have been identified as follows on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México":

| MENDOCINO | MILLIONTH MAP |
|---|---|
| Achiotlan, 4 | S. Miguel Achiutla |
| Tlachquiauco, 3 | Tlaxiaco |

The town which has eluded identification is Çapotlan.

Mixtepec (2) and Tlacotepec (1) are added from other sources.

### REMARKS ON TOWNS

*Mixtepec* was subject to Tlachquiauco in the days when the latter still held out against the Mexica, and presumably fell with it.[73]

*Tlacotepec* appears in some of the younger Moctezuma's conquests jointly with Ycpatepec (in the province of Yoaltepec).

*Tlachquiauco* is a name which has suffered considerable corruption, but there is no novelty in the identification of the town.

*Çapotlan* appears vaguely linked with Etla and Macuilxochic in one source.[74]

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[71] *PNE*, 1: No. 725: "dan cada ochenta dias sesenta y dos pesos y tres tomines de oro en poluo y tres cargas de miel y çinco xarros y tres cargas de çera en pellas." The statement also includes similar data from near-by towns.

[72] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias çinquenta pesos de oro en poluo y çinco naguas y ocho mantillas, y cinco mantas grandes; mas dan siete yndias de seruicio cada dia y una gallina al Calpizque."

[73] *PNE*, 4: 142: "el caçique de tlaxiaco que era a quien estos de mistepeque reconocian por señor tenia guerra con montecuma."

[74] *ENE*, 16: 68.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—This province seems to have been formed out of a vanquished Mixtec city-state, at a very late period indeed in the Empire's history. It is listed as one of three principal pre-Hispanic powers of the region in the "Relación de Teoçapotlan,"[28] though we know that it lost its independence in 1511 or 1512.[29]

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the south lay sister Mixtec states such as Puctla and Zacatepec, which defied the Mexicans successfully, to the east and north the Empire province of Coayxtlahuacan, and to the west that of Yoaltepec.

*Regional names.*—Tlachquiauco lay in what is commonly called the Mistecapan.

TRIBUTE

The only data available on the tribute of Tlachquiauco Province comes from the *Codex Mendocino:*

CLOTHING

400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume and shield*

OTHER GOODS*

20 vessels of gold dust
5 sacks of cochineal
400 bunches of quetzal feathers

## 35. Coayxtlahuacan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Coayxtlahuacan appears on page 21 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 43' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contained eleven principal towns,[30] all of which have been found. They lay in northern Oaxaca. In the *Matricula* the towns of "Cohuaxtlauacā," "Tamaçolapan," and "Tepozcololan" are identified in the roman alphabet; and

[28] *PNE*, 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solos auian los de Tututepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran guerreros por si, y Montecçuma que era el Señor de México."

[29] Anderson and Barlow, "The Maize Tribute of Moctezuma's Empire," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* (1943), 30: 414–415.

[30] Cortés (*Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153) speaks of twelve towns in the province of "Coastoca."

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651

OTHER GOODS*

2 strings of chalchiuites
800 bunches of quetzal feathers
1 royal emblem called *tlalpiloni*
40 sacks of cochineal
20 bowls of gold dust

[316
231]

*Tribute of the component towns.*—A few details exist concerning the way in which the payment of this rich tribute was apportioned. 632 651

Atlatlaucca and a fellow town paid cochineal, cotton mantles, green and varicolored feathers, and chalchiuites, all of which they purchased from other towns by means of little cotton mantles which served as money. They also gave military aid.[**] [436]

Cuicatlan gave feathers, gold, and "piedras" to the tribute collectors, who relayed these items to higher officials. The collectors themselves were given (mordida ?) mantles and food, and sometimes fruit was sent to the Mexican garrisons in the Mixteca.[**]

Chila's presents of gold jewels and mantles have been mentioned.[**]

Icxitlan claimed to have given no tribute other than gifts presented on visits to the capital. These presents were rich feathers and precious stones and live snakes to feed the birds of the Royal Aviary.[**]

Malinaltepec shared in giving the items listed under Atlatlaucca, above.

Papaloticpac gave gold dust and food for the Mexican garrisons.[**]

[**] *PNE*, 4: 165. The fellow town was Malinaltepec: "le dauan en cada pueblo de çierta cantidad de grana cochinilla, mantas de algodon y plumeria verde y de todas colores, y unas piedras verdes ... y estos generos de cosas las iban a buscar a otros pueblos los yndios, y las rescatauan a trueque de unas mantillas de algodon del tamaño de vn pliego de papel, que corria entre ellos por moneda ... y quando los capitanes de Muntecçuma les mandavan que enbiasen gente de guerra para ir a otras conquistas, lo hacian."

[**] *PNE*, 4: 185: "Y para quel dicho su Señor tributase a Montecçuma, de quien era su sujeto, buscaban los naturales plumas, oro, piedras, y a los cobradores que venian a cobrar este tributo por Montecçuma, les davan mantas, comida y otros presentes, sin lo que pagavan al gran Señor que hera Montecçuma, y algunas vezes enbiavan frutas a los questaban en las guarniçiones de Montecçuma en la provinçia de la Misteca."

[**] See Chila, above.

[**] *PNE*, 5: 75: " ... era sujeto al real ynperio de mexico, no le daban tributo ninguno mas de quando yvan a verle a mexico le llevaban en presente plumas ricas y piedras preciadas y culebras bibas para dar a comer a las aves de bolateria y munchos jeneros de aves preciadas que tenia." The Royal Aviary stood where the later Convento de San Francisco was built.

[**] "En tienpo de su ynfidelidad y antes que los españoles los sujetasen obedecian a Montecçuma ... . Lo que tributaban los naturales a su Señor natural y este a Montecçuma era oro en polvo, bastimentos que llevavan a las guarniçiones donde Montecçuma tenia gentes de guerra" (*PNE*, 4: 90).

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### NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—At the time of the Spanish Conquest the predominant language of the province of Coyolapan was Zapotec, though the Zapoteca had lost their political power. Two other groups also inhabited the province.[128] If we draw a line from north to south through Malinaltepec, Etla, Huaxolotitlan, Oaxaca, and Teozapotlan, then west to Totomachapa and Xilotepec, we delineate the western limits of Zapotec. The region beyond this line is Mixtec. In the northern panhandle, the fringe of the area in which Chinantec was spoken was a little south of Coaxomulco (1).[129]

The advanced and dissimilar cultures of the Zapotec and Mixtec, especially in the frontier zone of Oaxaca City, have become known in recent years through the investigations of Dr. Alfonso Caso.[130]

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Coyolapan was one of the far corners of the Empire. To the west and south it faced unfriendly Mixtec city-states, chiefly the huge realm dominated by Tototepec de Oaxaca. Eastward lay the Mixe and the "unprotected" Zapoteca. Both of these were uneasy frontiers. In the west and north, however, lay the strong Empire garrison of Coayxtlahuacan, in the province of the same name.

### TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—Coyolapan and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Triple Alliance:

CLOTHING**

400 bundles of richly worked mantles
800 bundles of large mantles

FOOD*

4 wooden cribs (2 of maize, 1 of beans, and 1 of chian)

OTHER GOODS*

20 gold disks, the size of an average plate and as thick as one's forefinger
20 bags of cochineal

[128] Chatino, the tongue of the Zenzontepec region, may be classified with Zapotec.

[129] García Granados, "Contribución para la geografía etnográfica y lingüística de Oaxaca," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (1934).

[130] In addition to various monographs, Dr. Caso has also written a good summary in his *Las culturas mixteca y zapoteca* (1939).

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·648 Montezuma returned after this to talk about the matter with his Caciques, and in the presence of Cortés and our Captains and many of our soldiers, and of Pedro Hernández, Cortés's secretary, they gave their fealty to His Majesty, and they showed much emotion in doing so, and Montezuma could not keep back his tears. He was so dear to us and we were so much affected at seeing him weep, that our own eyes were softened and one soldier wept as much as Montezuma, such was the affection we had for him. I will leave off here, and say that Cortés and the Fraile de la Merced, who was very wise, were constantly in Montezuma's palace, trying to amuse him and to persuade him to give up his Idols.

Now I will go on.

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## NOTE ON CHAPTERS CII. AND CIII.

000 The description given by Bernal Díaz in Chapters CII. and CIII. of the expeditions sent in search of mines differs considerably from that given by Cortés in his second letter to the Emperor.

Cortés says that there were several expeditions. Bernal Díaz mentions only two—one under Gonzalo de Umbria, the other under Pizarro, neither of whom Cortés mentions by name.

●316 317 Bernal Díaz quotes Montezuma as saying that gold was brought from a province named Zacatula, which is on the south coast ten or twelve days' journey from the city, and that the gold was collected in gourds in which the earth was washed, and Bernal Díaz himself gives Zacatula as the name of the town visited by Gonzalo de Umbria. The only Zacatula shown on the maps is situated on the Rio de las Balsas in the State of Guerrero. Placer gold-mining is still carried on in this neighbourhood, and Montezuma may have mentioned the place as a source of gold supply. However, there is no proof that Gonzalo de Umbria visited the Rio de las Balsas, for Cortés says nothing about an expedition in that direction, and mentions only expeditions to Cuzula (Sosola?), Tamazulapa, Malinaltepec, Tenis (Tanetze), and Tuxtepec, all places in the north-western part of the present State of Oaxaca, and he confirms this later on in the same

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316 letter when he mentions Coastoaca (Coixtlahuaca) and Tamazula
317 (either Tamazola or Tamazulapa), which are in the same neighbourhood, as places visited during these expeditions.

688 The only slight corroboration of an expedition to Zacatula is the casual mention by Bernal Díaz of Matalzingo, which is near Toluca, and would be on the way to Zacatula, but the frequent repetition of the same names in different localities prevents much reliance being placed on it.

No definite information is given as to the routes by which the expeditions travelled.

The expedition under Pizarro probably travelled by way of Tehuacan or Orizaba to Malinaltepec on the upper waters of the Papaloapan River, where they would be within a short distance both of Tuxtepec and the land of the Chinantecs, and although Cortés is not very clear on the matter, there is no reason to suppose that all three places were not visited by members of the same expedition.

With regard to the expedition under Diego de Ordás in search of a good harbour, Cortés gives the additional information that the party went first to Vera Cruz and then marched all along the coast to Coatzacoalcos, examining in canoes the bays and the mouths of the rivers that were crossed.

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## CHAPTER CII.

How our Cortés endeavoured to find out about the Gold Mines, what was their value, and in what rivers they were found, and what harbours there were for ships between Panuco and Tabasco, especially about the great river at Coatzacoalcos, and what happened about it.

316 WHEN Cortés and the other Captains were with Montezuma
317 paying him court, among other things that he said through our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar and Orteguilla, he asked Montezuma where the mines were, and in which rivers, and how and by what means they collected the gold which they brought him in grains, for he wished to send two of our soldiers who were expert miners to see it. Montezuma replied that there were three

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places, but they usually brought most of the gold from a province named Zacatula, which is on the south coast ten or twelve days' journey from that city (Mexico). The gold was collected in xicales[1] by washing away the earth, so that after the earth was washed away some grains of gold remained. At the present time they also brought it to him from another province called Tustepec near where we disembarked on the north coast where it was gathered from two rivers. Near that province there were other good mines in a land that was not subject to him, named the land of the Chinantecs and Zapotecs, who did not obey his rule. If Cortés wished to send his soldiers he would give them Chieftains to go with them. Cortés thanked him for it, and at once despatched a pilot named Gonzalo de Umbria, with two other soldiers who were miners to the mines of Zacatula. This Gonzalo de Umbria was the man whose feet Cortés had ordered to be cut off when he hanged Pedro Escudero and Juan Cermeño[2] and flogged the Peñates for their attempt to carry off a ship at San Juan de Ulua, as I have written down more at length in the chapter which deals with the incident.

Let us stop talking about the past and say how they set out with Umbria, a limit of forty days being allowed them in which to go and return.

To examine the mines on the north coast Cortés sent a captain named Pizarro, a young man about twenty years old, whom he treated as a relation. At that time there was no mention of Peru, nor were the Pizarros talked about in these lands. Pizarro set out with four oldiers, and he also was given forty days in which to go and return, for the distance was about eighty leagues from Mexico, and four Mexican chieftains accompanied him.

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[1] gourds [2] See note on page 207, vol. i.

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000 Ircio went to settle at Panuco. As I am already tired of noting the things in which this historian goes outside of what really happened, I will stop speaking of it, and will relate what each of the Captains sent by Cortés, accomplished, and will report how each returned with samples of gold.

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## CHAPTER CIII.

**How the Captains returned whom our Cortés had sent to examine the mines, and take soundings of the harbour and river of Coatzacoalcos.**

316 317 648 THE first to return to the City of Mexico and to give an account of what Cortés had sent him to do was Gonzalo de Umbria and his companions, who brought a matter of three hundred pesos in grains which the Indians of a town named Zacatula had extracted before their eyes. According to Umbria's description, the Caciques of that province took many Indians to the rivers, and in vessels like small troughs they washed the earth and collected the gold. The gold came from two rivers, and they said that if good miners went and washed the earth as they did in the Island of Santo Domingo or the Island of Cuba, that these would prove to be rich mines. Umbria also brought with him two chieftains sent by the province, and they brought a present of gold made into jewels worth about two hundred pesos, and gave and offered themselves as servants of His Majesty, and Cortés was as pleased with this gold as though it were thirty thousand pesos, for he now knew for certain that there were good mines, and he showed much affection to the chieftains who brought the present and ordered them to be given some green beads from Castile, and after friendly speeches they returned to their country well contented.

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Let us leave Ordás and speak of Captain Pizarro and 316●
his companions who went in the direction of Tustepec to 317
look for gold and examine the mines. Pizarro returned to make his report to Cortés accompanied by one soldier only, and he brought with him over one thousand pesos in grains of gold taken from the mines, and said that in the province of Tustepec and Malinaltepec and other neighbouring districts, he went to the rivers accompanied by many people who were sent with him, and they gathered a third part of the gold that he had brought, and they went high up in the hills to another province, that of the Chinantecs, and that when they reached their land, many Indians came out to meet them with arms, which were lances, much better than those we had, and bows and arrows and shields, and they said that not a single Mexican should enter their country, for they would kill them, but that the Teules should pass in and be welcome; so they went on, and the Mexicans were left behind and did not go any further. As soon as the Caciques of Chinanta understood what they had come for, they got together a large number of their people to wash for gold, and they took them to some rivers where they collected the rest of the gold which he had brought in twisted grains, and the miners said those were the most lasting mines as the gold was formed there. Captain 648
Pizarro also brought two Caciques from that country who came to offer themselves as vassals to His Majesty, and to secure our friendship they even brought a present of gold. One and all of those chieftains said many evil things of the Mexicans, who were so greatly hated in those provinces for the robberies they committed that they [the Chinantecs] could not bear the sight of them or the mention of their names.

Cortés received Pizarro and the chieftains whom he brought with cordiality, and he accepted the present which they gave him, (as it was so many years ago I cannot